42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

Isneg expressions referring to names and worthy of notice are the following:

kalôbaxán: a name that has the same ending as another one. *Magkalôbân*: to bear each a name with the same ending. For instance: *Balás, Kolás; Éba, Xawwá; Basán, Dawwán; Antóniyo, Ásiyo*, etc.

isáń and *ébăy*: familiar diminutive names for girls in general. Similar names are: in Iloko, *iniń*; in Ibanag, *néne-* (probably from the Spanish *nene*, "baby, whether boy or girl").

Nicknames, as applied to one particular person, are used very sparingly among the Isneg. I know of only one case: a Lettuakan boy, called *Ásiyo* and baptized Pedro, is very generally called *Paláli* even by his own relatives. *Paláli* is the name of a tree, and also of its fruits, which are edible, but very sour.

The Isneg are not very good genealogists. It very often happens that a young man or an adult girl does not even know the name of one or more of their grandparents, especially if the latter died before their grandchild was born. When asked about such names, the Isneg who happens not to know them usually excuses his ignorance by saying: "*Akkáńko nasińán* (I did not see him or her)".

II. Education

It might be thought at first sight that the Isneg leads a very unhappy and miserable life, a life full of drudgery, a life devoid of all comforts and possessing only a minimum of pleasure. But when you come to consider him more intimately, to enter more deeply into the matter, it does not take long for you to be convinced of the contrary. Indeed, he has very few needs; it is comparatively easy, to quote Jerome K. Jerome in "Three Men in a Boat", for an Isneg "to have enough to eat and enough to wear, and a little more than enough to drink", and he has little work to do. Besides, look at the fine family life he is living: if he has a good diligent wife, and most Isneg women are like that, and plenty of children around, really his bliss exceeds all understanding, I mean the understanding of a Caucasian with his manifold cares and innumerable wants.

Again at first sight, it might seem that the children's education is reduced to the very minimum, or rather that the youngsters get no education at all, as everybody, not excepting the children, seems to shift for himself and to do as he pleases. One would be the more inclined to think so when comparing the Isneg with other primitive

42: Vanoverbergh 5-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

peoples, who have regular initiation ceremonies or puberty rites or both: in his case these are entirely absent, and so his offspring lacks a very important factor in the education of the young, as all formal instruction that usually accompanies such rites and ceremonies is entirely denied him. Nevertheless there is some kind of education given to Isneg youth, and this I am going to consider presently.

At the beginning it should be noted once for all that the Isneg is not used to divide his life into very definite periods. Possessing no puberty rites of any kind, he is ignorant of any violent transition between any two periods of his earthly existence, and so an Isneg child grows up into a young man (*bagbaxó*, plural *babbáxo*) or a young girl (*balbalásań*, plural *babbalásań*), marries at the first opportunity, is occasionally widowed (*bálo*, *búkud*) and perhaps remarries, and finally dies, whether comparatively young or after having reached a ripe old age (old man: *la-lakáy*, plural *lala-lákay*; old woman: *ba-bakát*, plural *baba-bákat*). If one would insist on looking for a kind of classification, perhaps the best way would be to divide the life of an ordinary Isneg into three periods: the first one, from his birth till he has attained the age at which any decent boy begins to wear a G-string, a little before the age of reason; the second, from the time of that important change in his dress till his marriage; and the last one, from his first marriage till his death. Here I shall consider only the first two periods, and I shall treat them both simultaneously and indistinctively. That some details refer exclusively to one of these two periods will be clear without the necessity of saying so: an Isneg evidently does not teach one of his marriageable girls the name of the mosquito, nor does he point out to a boy three years old the penalties which he is likely to incur if he renders a girl pregnant and refuses to marry her.

Formal education as we understand it, whether in schools or otherwise, through appointed teachers, is totally unknown to the Isneg, except of course instruction in Government public schools, which all Isneg children are compelled to attend; but the generality of the people are not the least convinced of the benefits, and much less of the necessity, of the sort of education they get there, especially with reference to girls.

I shall try now to trace as faithfully and as clearly as possible the process of education as followed by the Isneg, or, if such an expression seems to be too definite, the way in which Isneg boys and girls get the education they need.

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

626 hardest labor will be gladly accepted in order to avoid shame, which
558 to an Isneg seems to be a kind of synthesis of all evils. That is also
578 the reason why ridicule is such a powerful weapon among the Isneg. For fear of ridicule a man will cover himself modestly when appearing in the presence of women, and miscreants will resort to ridicule in order to induce a young man to commit the worst crimes. No Isneg can stand ridicule.

626 Among the Isneg pride and ambition are only second to shame as incentives for being virtuous and conducting oneself honorably; nevertheless they are far from having the same power as shame, and parents will use them in a much smaller degree than the latter motive.
[461] The indolence of the Isneg has considerably lessened the power of ambition and pride as a motive for complying with the tenets of their moral code.

And so also praise and encouragement, although they rarely fail to help an Isneg youngster onward on the path of duty, are much less powerful than the all-feared ridicule. Isneg parents, however, are very well aware of the fact that a little occasional praise and a timely word of encouragement will rarely fail to be appreciated by the child, and that they will often do very much for the latter's betterment or the continuance of its right behavior.

Flattery is not so much in their line, and it is comparatively rarely resorted to in order to make a young man or woman behave decently. In the case of smaller children, however, it will often be used with the best of results.

The hope of a reward is not always as powerful as the fear of punishment, at least in the case of the little ones. But allow me to reserve the treatment of this subject for one of the following paragraphs.

3. Methods of Training

861 I shall not enter here into a large number of details with reference
867 to the methods used in the training of children, as very much has been said already in my lengthy treatment of the moral code. I shall
[881] go over the whole matter rather quickly, the more so as there is no question of initiation or puberty rites among the Isneg.

[602] Although elders, whosoever they be, may occasionally take a hand in the training of children, nevertheless this task devolves principally on the parents, and to a certain extent also on the grandparents. The tribe or community as such has little or nothing to do with the moral upbringing of the younger members of any given settlement.